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776 778 782 worship. No image is found, but there are exceptions. In Rewa State it was said that she should be worshipped at least twice a year: two days before the *Dasara* festival (September-October) and eight days after Chaita (March-April).

While animal sacrifices are forbidden at the Maihar temple, they may still be offered at the village shrine.[1] One group said that a black [184] kid was the only acceptable offering, while from others it was learned that chickens, lambs and suckling pigs may all be sacrificed. The usual [787] vegetable offerings are likewise acceptable. She frequently possesses people and speaks through them.

Childless women, especially, should worship her and make offerings [842] and sacrifices, so that she may speak to them through the *panda* and tell them what to do before they can expect children. Shardamai is therefore [755] reverenced at this place by childless women. It is also claimed that she can restore sight and cause the blind to walk and is a general miracle worker.

776 785 During *Chaita*, the Hindu month corresponding to parts of March and April of the Christian calendar, there should be an evening fast to Shardamai covering nine days. Regular food may be taken only in the [805] morning, and the evening meal should be limited to water, milk and water-nuts called *singhara* the Water-caltrop (*Trapa bispinosa* or *natans*). [262] On the ninth day the big offering to Shardamai must be made. Before anyone may partake of the meal on the ninth evening, a cocoanut[2] must [782] first be broken before the village shrine and offered to her, and then the edible part distributed to those present. Thereafter regular meals may be taken. If possible someone from the village, or better yet several from the chief families should go to Maihar to worship. Their worship at Shardamai's temple and the worship at home will reinforce the bond of friendship which they must maintain.

Shivari or Sheori. Shivari is called the mother of all Kols and served 776 Rama during his exile and search for Sita and has thus become deified. Shivari is nearly always listed by Kols, nevertheless actual worship [778] of her is rare; but Kols talk of her temple somewhere in Rewa and also at Sheori-Narayan near Raipur, eastern Central Provinces. Stories concerning her are found in connection with the study of the origin of the Kols and in the chapter on legends.[3] She probably represents a tribal goddess.

[753 782] *Sitalamai*. This name is a euphemistic title meaning the cool,

1 Kali worship is associated with animal sacrifice and Shardamai is probably equivalent to Durga in Hinduism.
2 Probably a relic of human sacrifice.
3 See pp. 9-10; also Chapter X.

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776 is the bridegroom deity. The general view is well summed up by Crooke:

> Strange, abnormal features of the scenery often become objects of veneration. In Mirzapur District there is a rock in the form of a hideous, grinning skull, with enormous teeth, known as Dantandeo, 'the demon with the teeth'. ....The same feeling is illustrated by the cult of Dulhadeo, 'the bridegroom deity', which is widely spread from the Central Provinces up to the hills which rise above the valley of the Ganges. He is one of the deified spirits of men suddenly slain before their desires were accomplished, and like others of his kind he should have become a Bhut or malignant spirit. But he is now generally regarded as a friendly household godling. Stone pillars and rocks are often associated with his tragic fate.....[1]

A Kol at Barela insisted that Dulha *deo* was the supreme deity, but generally speaking he is regarded by the Kols as a beneficent household god. [778] He usually dwells within the house and a piece of stone placed in a notch in the wall and daubed with *sendur* indicates his presence. He is offered sacrifices at set seasons, but before each meal a little food should be put aside for him. If he is neglected and gets angry he may cause harm to the family. If he is to be venerated outside the house, a little mound of earth about eight inches high may be raised close to the wall of the house not far from the doorway. This is simply whitewashed and called Dulha *deo*.

776 782 Offerings made to him are much like those given to other deities. It is often said that he should never be offered a chicken. He prefers either a kid or suckling pig. His favourite time of worship is in the [805] 787 Hindu month of *Kuiwar*, (September-October). This is the time his spirit possesses people and speaks through them.

[264 585] In Rewa, Kols say that after the marriage festivities the families concerned must not eat without first making an offering to Dulha *deo*. The main offering should be a male pig, which is offered to him, then cooked before the shrine and eaten sacramentally. The bones and pieces that are left are buried in a hole in the floor of the house, for if they should be thrown out or exposed trouble would result.

Gwalbansa baba. This deity is another household god of the same type as Dulha *deo*. He is said to be the master of the house and is always worshipped within the dwelling. He is particularly propitiated at *Jawara* time when an animal offering, preferably a goat or pig, is sacrificed inside the house. The blood is sprinkled about the [264] niche in the wall down near the floor which had been freshly plastered. Nothing whatsoever of the slain animal should be allowed to go out-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

1. *Dadar* or *Dadra*. This is by far the most common kind sung by Kols and is a well-known melody sung all over northern India. H. A. Popley in his book *The Music of India* says: "The *Ghazal* and the *Dadra* are two Hindustani melodies. They consist as a rule of *Aniara* only, sung alike to a simple melody in syncopated time, which is known as Pashto." Kols may sing this form on many occasions and at any time of the day and night, and its use is not limited as certain others are. It is used at the *Chhatthi* rejoicings when the women sing and dance on the sixth day after the birth of a child; it is used throughout the wedding cycle; and may even be used at times of religious worship. Sometimes the words are chaste and beautiful, and again a *dadra* song may contain abuse as is common at the times of weddings.[1] 533 [846] [585] [796]

2. *Bhagat*. This is predominantly the song of worship. Some Kols say it is used for the *devis* and *devtas* while *bhajans* are used for Bhagawan. This does not appear to be the actual practice however. The root of the word is from *bhakti* which means "passionate devotion," and a *bhagat* is generally sung before the gods and goddesses. It is sung when the *jawara* is sown. At times when men become controlled by the *devi* it is this type of song that helps to bring on the emotional excitement resulting in "possession". The words may apply to any occasion and the rhythm varies from the *dadra* and the *rai*.

3. *Bhajans* are religious songs, but are supposed to be addressed to the higher powers, and Bhagawan is generally mentioned. However we found an instance of a *bhajan* being addressed to Sharda.

4. *Rai*. This type implies songs of Krishna and Radha. There are various rhythms in use, but its content, as far as words are concerned, is frequently obscene. Like the two following types it is sung mostly at the *holi* season. [831]

5. *Phag*. This is named from the month of Phagun for it is supposed to be sung only during that particular month, and may be called a spring song. Phagun is the eleventh month in the Hindu year and covers the last half of February and the first half of March. This corresponds with part of the *holi* season, and some say the *phag* type of song should be sung only during the last fifteen days of the season. The contents of the majority of *phag* songs are not respectable and it is very difficult to get one sung for an outsider; they are some- [805]

1 *Op. Cit.*, p. 90.
2 Elwin calls the *Duduria* the true forest songs of the Baigas. *The Baigas*, p. 438.

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APPENDIX III

NOTES ON POETRY IN CHAPTER XI[1]

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I. SONGS OF NATURE.

1. A *dohárí* from Katni. The theme of love is also set forth. The crow is symbolical of an ordinary human being.

2. The chakahí-chakā (or Chakhí-chakvā) (*casarca rutila*) birds are a pair supposed to be under an eternal curse. During the day they may stay together and sport in the river, but when night comes they must be separated and stay apart from one another. A *dohárí* from Katni. [825]

3. A *dádrá* from Imalhapur village.

4. A *dohárí* from Katni.
Beli : a kind of jasmin. *Chameli* : a creeper of the jasmin type. [137]
Sarangí : a one-stringed country violin. [534]
Sitár : an instrument usually having seven strings.

5. A *birhá* or forest song. This is sung as one walks through the forest and no musical instrument is used to accompany it. The woman is anxious about her husband whom she calls her lord. [533]

II. LIFE : ITS JOYS AND SORROWS.

1. This song is a *rdí* from Sihora. [805]

2. The 'green month' is *Sáwan*, which corresponds to the last half of July and the first half of August. The rains by this time have set in well and the heat-scorched landscape has been transformed. It is of the *dádrá* type of song and comes from Barela. [132] [533]

3. A *dádrá* from Katni.

4. A wedding *dohárí* from the village of Salavara. This song and others like it are used to tease the bridegroom. Here the girl is said to protest the choice of a mate for her. [585]

5. A *dádrá* from Katni.

6. Called '*bárahmási*.' 'A twelve-month song.' Sung by women who have to stay at home while their husbands go afar for work. This song is from Katni and comes from a woman. There are only ten of the Hindi months named here : Sáwan and Pús are omitted by the singer, probably by error. The Hindi months are as follows— [533]

[17] [805]

Ásárh	..	June-July.
Sáwan	..	July-August (omitted in the poem).
Bhádon	..	August-September.
Kunwár	..	September-October.
Kátika	..	October-November.
Agahana	..	November-December.
Pús	..	December-January (omitted above).
Mágha	..	January-February.

[1] [The native texts of songs and poetry will be found on pp. 221-249.—Analyst]

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Phāgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishāka	..	April-May.
Jeṭh	..	May-June.

III. Love and Intrigue.

1. A *dādrā* from Katni. The *loṭā* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kājli* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kajli* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pānwālā* prepares and sells the *pān*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A *dādrā* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dādrā* from Katni. The *dhīmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dādrās* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rāī* from Katni.

9. A *biyā*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Sulavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. Songs of Social Events.

1. This song is called *chhauhar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwā*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhauhar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur. The *Pūrabiyās* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rāī* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Maraud* or *marhwā*: the wedding booth.